

A TRANSLATION OF ARCHBISHOP WULFSTAN'S *SECUNDUM MARCUM*  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

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A Thesis  
by  
CEBURN JACK SWINDEN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
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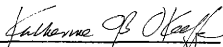
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**ABSTRACT**

A Translation of Archbishop Wulfstan's *Secundum Marcum*

with an Introduction and Commentary. (May 1989)

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This study examines *Secundum Marcum*, the most fully developed eschatological homily written by Wulfstan II (d. 1023), Archbishop of York (1002-23) and Bishop of Worcester (1002-16). The Introduction first examines the historical context for this homily. Then Wulfstan's style of Homiletic prose is examined, including the unique prose rhythm, the rephrasing of material to insure clarity, the use of intensifying words and interjections to add oratorical force, and the use of compounds, formulae, and figurae. Finally, I provide a composite account of Wulfstan's interpretation of Antichrist based on his eschatological homilies. The Translation is written in clear, contemporary English, yet accurately reflects the original. The Commentary is both exegetical and expository. In the exegesis I deal with difficult words and passages, suggest alternate readings, and point to important manuscript variations. In the exposition I discuss and compare sources and possible sources, give historical background, and explain theological connections.

**In Memoriam**

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**CEBURN JAY SWINDEN**

**(1922-88)**

**ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

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The text of *Secundum Marcum* is that edited by Dorothy Bethurum in her *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 134-41, and is reproduced here by permission from Oxford University Press, Walton Street, Oxford.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT . . . . .	iii
DEDICATION . . . . .	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENT . . . . .	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS . . . . .	vi
INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND . . . . .	1
Scope . . . . .	1
Wulfstan's Life and Times . . . . .	3
The Style of Wulfstan's Homiletic Prose . . . . .	6
A Composite Account of Antichrist Based on Homilies Ia-V . . . . .	11
Outline of <i>Secundum Marcum</i> . . . . .	14
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY . . . . .	15
NOTES . . . . .	26
SELECTED REFERENCES . . . . .	60
APPENDIX . . . . .	70
VITA . . . . .	71

## INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### Scope

Wulfstan II (d. 1023), Archbishop of York (1002-23) and Bishop of Worcester (1002-16), has been seriously neglected in historical, literary, and theological studies. Yet he is unique, if not the most interesting and important, Anglo-Saxon homilist and one of the most important authors of early English law. If not for men of such caliber as Wulfstan, Anglo-Saxon England might well have fallen apart long before Hastings and perhaps not at all if there had been more of his kind. He is a man who truly deserved to be numbered among the Witan. For indeed, in an age when others were likely as not moved by the thought of treasure in their counsel to kings, his was wise advice stemming from a sense of responsibility to God and state.

He was a man well equipped for the archiepiscopate of York, that stormy region of northern England which had suffered under repeat invasions from Danish and Norwegian armies as well as feuding English factions. His was a see in need of drastic reform, for the culture of the Scandinavian settlers had worsened an already failing church filled with secular priests. So it is not surprising that his homilies reflect the urgency of Benedictine reformation, nor that they are written in an almost poetic style which would be more effective with the Scandinavian settlers who were often illiterate, and yet still appeal to the mostly

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This thesis follows the style of *Speculum*.

literate Anglo-Saxons. Nor is it surprising that his homilies reflect a preacher who desires reformation above theological edification, praxis above eloquence, and application of God's Word to the present evil above church tradition. What is surprising is that he is so neglected by modern scholars, especially as homilist. For this reason I chose to focus my study on his homilies.

The six earliest homilies of Wulfstan--II, *Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matheum*; III, *Secundum Lucam*; Ia, *De Anticristo*; Ib, *De Anticristo*; IV, *De temporibus Anticristi*; and V, *Secundum Marcum*--are eschatological.<sup>1</sup> I have narrowed the scope of my study to include a literary translation with commentary and introduction to *Secundum Marcum*. *Secundum Marcum* is the last of the eschatological homilies Wulfstan wrote, and it is the most completely developed of the group. It is also representative of the group in that it heavily borrows from the earlier homilies. Finally, it has the most impassioned style of the six.

Two other translations of this homily exist. William L. DeLeeuw's translation is very literal and with notes pertaining exclusively to analyzing Wulfstan's rhythmical prose style.<sup>2</sup> Vivien Scott Wynne's is a literary translation from 1919, but it is very poor and is without notes.<sup>3</sup>

I justify my translation on two grounds. First, I have provided that which previously did not exist--an accurate translation written in clear, contemporary English. Second, I have provided a commentary which is both exegesis and exposition. In the exegesis I deal with difficult words and passages, suggest alternate readings, and point to important manuscript variations. In the exposition I discuss and compare sources and



possible sources, give historical background, and explain theological connections.

I designed my introduction based on the desire to make this work more readily accessible to those who are not well acquainted with Old English studies. Therefore, I include a brief history of Wulfstan and the Anglo-Saxon England he knew. Since his prose style is so unique, I discuss it in some detail but translate all words into Modern English (as I do throughout this work). To help provide a better understanding of Wulfstan's interpretation of the biblical Antichrist motif, I include a composite account based on his eschatological homilies. I am also including a brief outline of *Secundum Marcum*.

### **Wulfstan's Life and Times**

We have no record of the activities of Wulfstan II, Archbishop of York, before he became Bishop of London in 996.<sup>4</sup> He remained Bishop of London until 1002 when he was translated to the sees of Worcester and York.<sup>5</sup> While still in London, he had already acquired a reputation as an eloquent writer, perhaps, as Dorothy Bethurum suggests, "from the rhetorical effects of [homilies] II, III, and V."<sup>6</sup> However, Wulfstan was much more than a mere homilist; he was a "statesman, reformer, canonist, legislator," "orator, translator, and collector of books."<sup>7</sup>

We know that Ælfric (d. 1020), Abbot of Eynsham and a contemporary of Wulfstan, received his education under Ælthelwold (908-984), Bishop of Winchester, but we are uncertain about Wulfstan's education. As Frank Barlow points out, "in spirit he seems closer to St Æthelwold

than to any other of the great leaders, his intercourse with Ælfric may be due to a common schooling."<sup>8</sup>

Even with so little background information, we can still conclude that Wulfstan was a learned man through examining "the sources he used, the works copied or excerpted in manuscripts probably compiled under his direction, [and] the evidence for his reading of older works afforded by entries in his hand or by interpolations in his style."<sup>9</sup> The library at Worcester is said to have become one of England's best in the latter half of the eleventh century. Bethurum says, "He collected the regulatory literature needed for the administration of a church in danger of disruption from without and of relaxation of discipline within--penitentials, canons, Carolingian capitularies, liturgical outlines and directions, and the English laws."<sup>10</sup>

While still Bishop of London, Wulfstan signed his name on several letters of penitential formulae as *Lupus*<sup>11</sup> a translation of the first element of his name. *Lupus* also appears in the rubrics to some of his homilies, but he always signed the charters as *Wulfstan[us]* prompting Dorothy Whitelock to consider *Lupus* a nom de plume rather than a nickname. He may have used *Lupus* in imitation of Carolingian scholars, namely Alcuin, and possibly Servatus Lupus (805-62), Abbot of Ferrieres.<sup>12</sup>

Wulfstan was almost certainly a Benedictine, for his works reflect the ideals of the Benedictine reformed party and show a familiarity with the Benedictine Rule. The Benedictine houses of Ely and Peterborough both claimed him as a benefactor.<sup>13</sup> Sometime before 1016, he reformed

the monastery of Peter at Gloucester by replacing secular priests with monks.<sup>14</sup>

In the ninth and early tenth centuries Northumbria had seen a great influx of Scandinavian settlers who had retained many of their heathen customs. It became even more chaotic when the Danish raids recommenced in 980.<sup>15</sup> England's northern diocese of York was not a pleasant place to be in those days, at least not for an English bishop from the South. By 1002 York was a Danish city, "and its library and cathedral possessions, presumably destroyed in the ninth-century Danish raids, had never been replaced, nor had it recovered the lands lost from its ancient estates. It was probably to provide support for the impoverished archbishopric that Oswald was allowed to retain Worcester when he was made Archbishop of York in 972, and that his successors continued the plurality."<sup>16</sup> Worcester was a wealthier more vigorous see with a fine library. More importantly, it was in the South, and combining it with York would help deter archbishops from siding with the North in rebellion against West-Saxon rule.<sup>17</sup> Wulfstan was translated to the sees of York and Worcester in 1002 when Archbishop Ealdulf died.

With Worcester being the more natural place for an archbishop to reside, one might expect that is where Wulfstan spent most of his time. But Whitelock does not believe this to be the case. She speculates that he probably did some of his reading and writing at York, and that he had secretaries at his disposal in both cities, and perhaps some even travelled with him.<sup>18</sup> More convincing is her argument, "There are, however, some manuscripts connected with Wulfstan which supply no evidence of a

Worcester provenance."<sup>19</sup>

Wulfstan's achievements are many. Besides his homilies, Bethurum attributes the following to him:

The Canons of Edgar, the Peace of Edward and Guðrum, the Institutes of Polity, the later codes of Ethelred (V-X), and finally I and II Cnut. . . . It is likely, too, that he had something to do with the Northumbrian Priest's Law. . . .

In all this work Wulfstan was deeply indebted to the Frankish writers whose works he may have found at Worcester--the Excerptiones Pseudo-Egberti, the Capitula of Theodulf, the Regula canonicorum of Amalarius of Metz, one chapter of which he translated, probably Sedulis Scottus's De rectoribus Christianis, and the various works of Alcuin.<sup>20</sup>

In 1016 Wulfstan resigned from Worcester. Bethurum states:

When Cnut became king there was every reason for Wulfstan to act as counsellor to the brilliant young barbarian, now King of England. The accession of Cnut is nearly contemporaneous with Wulfstan's resigning Worcester and devoting himself entirely to the northern diocese. That meant that he left the very stronghold of learning and monasticism, Worcester, to work in a Danish city among a population imperfectly Christianized, in a region where the Benedictine reformation had never been very effective; and he must have addressed himself very vigorously to the suppression of paganism, even to those elements of the heathen he found in Cnut.<sup>21</sup>

Wulfstan died on 28 May 1023 at York, and was buried at Ely according to his wishes. Two centuries later his homilies were still in use.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Style of Wulfstan's Homiletic Prose**

Wulfstan's homilies seem to echo the idea found in Augustine's *De*

*doctrina Christiana*: Wisdom is more important than eloquence. And his description of the biblical writings seems appropriate for Wulfstan's as well--their eloquence is subtle, so as not to take away from the wisdom of the words, yet eloquent enough to make us ponder the words the more.<sup>23</sup>

Wulfstan's homilies are unique in that he excludes much of what is common in Old English homilies. Bethurum notes, "Severely absent are most of the *figurae sententiarum*, particularly metaphor and simile, or any of the analogical interpretations of scripture. There are a few, usually taken from his sources, but they always seem foreign to his style."<sup>24</sup> As to his subject matter, he never addresses the lives of saints, nor does he ever refer to them (except as a collective body or as biblical authors), nor does he include legendary matter,<sup>25</sup> neither does he use *exempla* nor topical allusions.<sup>26</sup> He also avoids reference to the Apocrypha in his eschatological homilies, except in *Secundum Lukam*.<sup>27</sup>

He was acquainted with the manuals of rhetoric of Alcuin, Isidore of Seville, and Hrabanus Maurus, and as Bethurum notes, "Wulfstan's practice seems to have been modelled on the teachings of Cicero, particularly as they were interpreted by Augustine. His homilies exhibit the three styles of oratory defined by Cicero and recommended by Augustine."<sup>28</sup> These are the plain (low) style for teaching, the temperate style for giving pleasure, and the impassioned (high) style for persuasion.<sup>29</sup>

Wulfstan's prose rhythm is unique, and it must be read aloud to be fully understood. This is how Angus McIntosh discovered his "two-stress

theory."<sup>30</sup> He believes that Wulfstan's prose naturally divides into a continuous series of two-stress phrases, which are always syntactical units, that are related to the classical Old English half-line.<sup>31</sup> In effect, he views this as prose which approaches the style of poetry and believes it comprises the whole of Wulfstan's writings, though he admits some of the sermons and the laws are "sometimes less crisply rhymed."<sup>32</sup> Scholars are divided over his theory.<sup>33</sup> Ida Masters Hollowell probably represents a better understanding, which, while acknowledging that two-stress syntactical units sometimes occur, nevertheless, cannot justify the division of the entire corpus into such units.<sup>34</sup> She believes Wulfstan was not consciously trying to compose poetic verse, though she admits much of his prose is poetic. She concludes, "The fact that in these two homilies [V and XX] Wulfstan, like the Old English poets, depends heavily, sometimes spectacularly, on substantives, is probably a factor in their poetic character."<sup>35</sup> The fact that these two-stress syntactical units only occasionally occur is what makes them so effective, for they stand out from the normal prose style.<sup>36</sup>

Wulfstan certainly does not elaborate and illustrate his points in the same manner of style as Ælfric, nevertheless, he does not sacrifice clarity. He often finds it necessary to rephrase material which might otherwise be misunderstood by his audience, especially when introducing material borrowed from a source. This rephrasing is normally introduced by a *þæt is* clause,<sup>37</sup> as in the following examples taken from *Secundum Marcum*. He twice introduces biblical material by quoting from the Latin Vulgate, and then he translates the passage into Old English and applies

the Scripture to his day and time.<sup>38</sup> In both cases he uses another *þæt is* clause near the end of his application of the quoted passage. In the first occurrence, *þæt is gesyne on mænigfealde wisan* "this is evident in numerous ways" is inserted after his discussion of Christ's Olivet prophecy in Matthew 24:12, which foretells that humanity's love for God and for each other will grow cold in the last days as evil reigns *wide 7 side* "far and wide." In the second occurrence, after quoting Revelation 20:7, which says that Satan will be released from bondage after one thousand years, he describes how it is becoming more and more evil in the world every day, and that the number of evil and treacherous people is also greatly increasing towards *þæt mæste yfel þe mannum is towerd* "the greatest evil one who is about to come to men." Another *þæt is* clause follows which clarifies who this "evil one" will be: *þæt is se þeodfeond Antecrist sylfa* "that is the archfiend, the Antichrist himself."

Another characteristic of Wulfstan's homiletic style is his use of intensifying words and interjections to add oratorical force. The following examples are from *Secundum Marcum*. *Æfre* "ever," which occurs five times, is used in contrasting "Christ was the best of all the children who were *ever* born" with the point that Antichrist will be the worst of those who were born before or "*ever* will be hereafter." *Æfre ær* "ever before" occurs three times.<sup>39</sup> *Swyðe* "very, exceedingly, much, greatly" occurs eight times. We read how "it is destined to become *exceedingly* evil," because "the bonds of Satan are being *greatly* relaxed," and that "evil and treacherous ones *greatly* increase in the world." It is used once as *ealles to swyðe* to exclaim that men will love "this deceitful world

*entirely too much*<sup>40</sup> *Georne* "surely, zealously" occurs twice; *oft* > *gelome* "often and frequently" and *witodlice* "certainly" occur once; *oft* > *ær* "often before," *wide* "widely," and *wide* > *side* "far and wide" occur three times.<sup>41</sup> The interjections *eala* "Alas!" and *eala eala* "Oh! Alas!" occur once, and *la* "Behold, Alas!" occurs twice.<sup>42</sup>

Wulfstan uses "compounds in which the first member is used with intensifying force."<sup>43</sup> In *Secundum Marcum* the prefix *þeod-* "great, arch" occurs three times as *þeodfeond* "archfiend" and once as *þeodscādān* "great criminal."<sup>44</sup> In other homilies it occurs as *þeodlicetere* "arch-hypocrit," *þeodloga* "arch-liar," and *þeodwita* "a very wise man."<sup>45</sup>

Another Wulfstanian characteristic is his use of formulae.<sup>46</sup> Here are but a few examples from *Secundum Marcum*<sup>47</sup> *On worulde* "in the world" occurs ten times, *nu is se tima* "now is the time" occurs twice, *gecnawe se ðe cunne* "let him who is able understand" occurs twice, *þæt is in Englisc* "that is in English" occurs twice,<sup>48</sup> and *wide* > *side* occurs three times as discussed above.

Wulfstan makes frequent use of schemes. According to Bethurum, "All the figures of sound [schemes] taught by the manuals of rhetoric appear in abundance. . . . Rhyme of both kinds, *similiter cadens* and *similiter desinens*, is very prevalent, as are alliteration and assonance."<sup>49</sup>

Wulfstan's homiletic style is indeed unique, but then so was he and so was his mission. No doubt the chaotic, political state of England, especially in the North, and the complacency and stagnation in many of the churches within his sees, were factors which influenced his style. But whatever the cause, his style needed to help him achieve specific



homiletic goals; principally to move both clergy and laity away from an attitude of indifference towards the state of the church and the state of the nation, and to push for further Benedictine reforms. He must have viewed himself as a "watchman on the wall" of England, for he fails not in sounding the alarm of the coming judgment on his people, his nation, and most importantly, his church. In the comfort and security of the South Ælfric could spend great amounts of time developing elaborately eloquent homilies and struggling with theological questions. But for Wulfstan, the situation called for practical application before eloquence, and yet this great prose writer, extremely busy with the affairs of church and the affairs of state, still produced an eloquent prose that has captured the admiration of scholars for a millennium.

#### **A Composite Account of Antichrist Based on Homilies Ia-V**

Wulfstan believes, and not without biblical foundation, that the sins of humanity will usher in the last days, and the reign of Antichrist will be the final and worst outpouring of evil in the world before the return of Christ. So in a style not unlike the Hebrew prophets of old, he delivers his indictment against humanity: We do not obey the laws of God as we should, nor do we pay tithes as we should, nor do we perform the work of God as we should, nor do we distribute alms as we should (III).<sup>50</sup>

Realizing many must wonder why God will allow such a one as Antichrist to reign on earth, Wulfstan's presents God's case to them. First, the sins of humanity have reached such a terrible point that humanity will deserve the period of tribulation which is coming (IV, V). Second,

God's faithful who endure to the end without deserting him will be purified and cleansed by this tribulation, and therefore, He will greatly bless them (IV, V).

He believes that the time of Antichrist is quickly approaching, because God said that after one thousand years He will release Satan from his bonds for a short while, and now (c. 1000-1002) more than one thousand years have passed since Christ was on earth among humanity (V).<sup>51</sup> Yet he predicts that many who are now living (c. 1000-1002) may never see the time of Antichrist (Ia, Ib),<sup>52</sup> even though many of Antichrist's offspring--the children of the devil--are already in the world (Ia, Ib, V), and these false messiahs are greatly increasing in number (V). He explains that anyone who lives or teaches contrary to Christ is an antichrist (Ia, Ib).

Wulfstan calls Antichrist by many names. He is the serpent (Ia), the son of perdition (Ia), a visible fiend (V), and the archfiend (V). He is even called the devil (Ib, IV), as a matter of fact, the very same devil who is now in hell (V).

Wulfstan frequently contrasts Antichrist with Christ; after all, Antichrist means contrary to Christ (Ia). As Christ was both God and man, filled with the Holy Spirit; Antichrist will be both devil and man, filled with the spirit of the devil (IV, V). Christ is our greatest help and comfort, but Antichrist will be depraved (V). Christ is the best of all children ever born, but Antichrist will be the worst (V). Antichrist will declare himself to be God (IV, V) but will deny Christ and perform the works of the devil (V).

Antichrist will achieve great power through the art of deception (1a, IV, V). He will perform many kinds of miracles, including calling down fire from heaven and healing the infirm, though he can only heal those whom he previously afflicted (IV). Through deception he will distort the thoughts of many so that they will not be able to understand the truth (IV).

Those whom he cannot persuade to follow him through deception will be coerced through fear (1a, IV, V). He will reign in Jerusalem for three and a half years (1a, V), and the Church will suffer persecution (1a). Those who think God could never allow this to happen need to consider the fate which awaits His two witnesses, the prophets Enoch and Elijah, for even they will be killed by Antichrist and their bodies left on a Jerusalem street (1a, V).

Wulfstan paints a bleak picture of humanity's future, but he does not end on such a thought. In the manner of the Hebrew prophets, he leaves his audience with the knowledge that God will cut short Antichrist's days for the sake of the elect (1a, IV, V). Christ will return and destroy Antichrist, and immediately afterwards the Last Judgment will occur. Then Antichrist and all of his followers will be cast into the abyss of hell, while the faithful who endured the tribulation will join the rest of the saints to reside in Paradise forever in the presence of God (V).

A few final comments on Wulfstan's interpretation of Antichrist are in order. From the composite above, as well as from the individual homilies, we can easily see that Wulfstan does not attempt a deep theological treatise on Antichrist. He presents a fairly straightforward

rendering of the biblical passages he relates to Antichrist. He makes very little attempt at distinguishing between Satan and Antichrist, and the two quite often are blurred together in a rather ambiguous way. However, he does seem to view them as being separate. He makes no attempt, though, to explain the False Prophet<sup>53</sup> in relation to Satan and Antichrist. Finally, unlike many of his contemporaries, he excludes most of the extra-biblical tradition included in the so-called "Antichrist Legend." He never mentions Antichrist's supposed ancestral background, his birthplace, or the cities he will grow up in.

#### **Outline of *Secundum Marcum***

- I. Scripture reading: Mark 13:14, 17, 19 (3-7)
- II. Exordium (8-14)
- III. Exposition (14-113)
  - A. Evil reigns in these last days (14-32)
  - B. Christ and Antichrist contrasted (33-40)
  - C. Satan will soon be loosed (40-52)
  - D. The time of Antichrist (53-113)
- IV. Conclusion: The Last Judgment of God (113-20)

## TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

SECUNDUM MARCUM<sup>54</sup>

(3) Interrogatus Iesus a discipulis de consummatione seculi, dixit (4) eis: Cum uideritis abominationem desolationis, et reliqua. (5) Vae pregnantibus et nutrientibus in illis diebus. Erunt enim (6) tribulationes tales quales non fuerunt ab initio creature quam (7) condidit Deus usque nunc neque fient, et reliqua.

(8) Leofan men, ures Drihtnes apostolas ahsadan hwilum hine (9) sylfne ymbe þisre worulde geendunge. Ða sæde he heom þæt (10) swilce earfoðnessa ⁊ swylce gedrecednessa sculan on worulde

Jesus, having been questioned by the disciples concerning the consummation of this world, said to them: "When you will have seen the abomination of desolation," et cetera. "Woe to pregnant women and nursing mothers in those days! Truly there will be great tribulations such as never were from the beginning of creation, as God has established, until now; nor indeed will ever again arise," et cetera.<sup>55</sup>

Beloved men,<sup>56</sup> the apostles once asked our Lord himself about the end of this world.<sup>57</sup> Then he said to them that such afflictions and tribulations are destined for the world before the end comes to pass, such as never before

((11) ær þam ende geweorðan  
 swylce næfre ær ne gewurðan  
 (12) ne næfre eft ne geweorðað.  
 And þæt godspel cwæð: Wa ðam  
 (13) wifum þe þonne tymað ⁊ on  
 þam earmlican timan heora cild  
 (14) fedað. La, nyde hit sceal eac  
 on worulde for folces synnan (15)  
 yfelian swyðe, forðam nu is se  
 tima þe Paulus se apostol gefyrn  
 (16) foresæde. He sæde hwilum  
 þam biscope Tymothee þæt on  
 (17) ðam endenyhstan dagum  
 þissere worulde beoð frecenlice  
 tida (18) for manna synnum, ⁊  
 men þonne lufiað, he cwæð,  
 ealles to (19) swyðe þas swicolan  
 woruld ⁊ beoð ofergrædige  
 woruldgestreona, (20) ⁊ to  
 manege weorðað to wlance ⁊  
 ealles to rance ⁊ to gylpgeorne,  
 (21) ⁊ sume weorðað egeslice  
 godcundnessa hyrwende ⁊ boclare  
 (22) leande ⁊ unriht lufiende, ⁊  
 sume weorðað swicole ⁊ swæslic

occurred nor ever again will  
 occur.<sup>58</sup> And the Gospel proclaims,  
 "Woe to the wives who are with  
 child then and during that  
 miserable time nurse their  
 children!"<sup>59</sup> Behold, moreover it is  
 destined to become exceedingly  
 evil<sup>60</sup> in the world inevitably<sup>61</sup> for  
 the sins of the people, because now  
 is the time which the apostle Paul  
 foretold long ago. He said once to  
 the bishop Timothy that in the last  
 days of this world perilous times  
 will exist<sup>62</sup> because of the sins of  
 men. And then men will love, he  
 says, this deceitful world entirely  
 too much, and will be too covetous  
 of worldly riches. And too many  
 will become too proud, and  
 entirely too arrogant, and too  
 vainglorious. And some will be  
 dreadfully blaspheming the  
 Godhead, and despising learning,  
 and loving wickedness. And some  
 will be treacherous, and

(23) ficole 7 butan getrywðum  
forſcyldgode on ſynnān. And  
gecnawe (24) se ðe cunne, nu is  
se tima þæt ðeos woruld is  
gemæncged (25) mid  
mæniġfealdan mane 7 mid  
felafealdan facne, 7 ðæs hit is  
(26) þe wryse wide on worulde,  
ealswa þæt godspel cwæð:  
*Quoniam (27) abundabit  
iniquitas refrigescet caritas  
multurum.* Ðæt is (28) on  
Engliſc, forðam þe unriht weaxeð  
ealles to wide, soð lufu (29)  
colað. Ne man God lufað swa swa  
man scolde, ne manna (30)  
getrywða to ahte ne standað, ac  
unriht ricsað wide 7 side, 7 (31)  
tealte getrywða syndon mid  
mannum, 7 þæt is gesyne on (32)  
mæniġfealde wisan, gecnawe se  
ðe cunne.

(33) Eala, eala, ac þa wæs  
mycel blis 7 bot seo betste man-  
num (34) towerd þa Crist com

deceptively crafty, and without  
faith condemned in sins.<sup>63</sup> And let  
him understand who can<sup>64</sup> that  
now is the time wherein this world  
is confused by much evil and by  
much fraud,<sup>65</sup> and from this time  
on it will become worse throughout  
the world, just as the Gospel  
proclaims: "Because wickedness  
has abounded, the charity of most  
will grow cold."<sup>66</sup> That is in  
English,<sup>67</sup> because wickedness  
increases all too widely,<sup>68</sup> true  
love<sup>69</sup> will grow cold. No man  
loves God as he should, nor do the  
agreements of men stand for  
anything;<sup>70</sup> because evil reigns far  
and wide,<sup>71</sup> and treaties with men  
are not to be relied upon.<sup>72</sup> And  
this is evident in numerous  
ways.<sup>73</sup> Let him who is able  
understand!<sup>74</sup>

Oh! Alas!<sup>75</sup> But then there  
was great joy and the greatest  
restoration for men when Christ

on ðas woruld þurh mennisce  
 gebyrde, (35) ⁊ þæt com us  
 eallan to helpe þam mæstan ⁊ to  
 frofre þam (36) betstan. And  
 mycel is seo þwyrnes þe nu is  
 towerd, gebide (37) ðære  
 yrmðe se þe hit gebide, þæt  
 Antecrist geboren beo. Crist (38)  
 wæs ealra bearna betst geboren  
 þe æfre geboren wurde, ⁊  
 Antecrist (39) bið ealra þære  
 bearna wyrst on þas woruld  
 geboren þe ær (40) oððe æfter  
 æfre gewurde oððe geweorðe.  
 Nu sceal hit nyde (41) yfelian  
 swyðe, forðam þe hit nealæcð  
 georne his timan, ealswa (42)  
 hit awritan is ⁊ gefyrn wæs  
 gewitegod: *Post mille annos*  
*soluetur* (43) *Satanas* þæt is  
 on Englisc, æfter þusend gearum  
 bið *Satanas* (44) unbunden.  
 þusend geara eac ma is nu agan  
 syððan (45) Crist wæs mid  
 mannum on menniscan hiwe, ⁊

came into this world through  
 human birth; and he came for all of  
 us as the greatest help and the  
 best comfort. But great is that  
 depravity which now is  
 approaching.<sup>76</sup> Endure this misery  
 him who can endure, that  
 Antichrist who will be born!<sup>77</sup>  
 Christ was the best of all the  
 children who were ever born, and  
 Antichrist will be the worst of all  
 the children who were either born  
 into this world before [this time] or  
 ever will be hereafter.<sup>78</sup> Now of  
 necessity it is destined to become  
 exceedingly evil, because his time  
 surely approaches; just as it was  
 written and prophecied long ago:<sup>79</sup>  
 "After one thousand years, Satan  
 will be released [from his  
 prison]."<sup>80</sup> That is in English, after  
 one thousand years Satan<sup>81</sup> will be  
 unbound. One thousand years, and  
 even more, now have passed since  
 Christ was among men in human



nu syndon (46) Satanases  
 bendas swyðe toslopene, ⁊  
 Antecristes tima is wel (47)  
 gehende, ⁊ ðy hit is on worulde a  
 swa leng swa wacre. Men (48)  
 syndon swicole, ⁊ woruld is þe  
 wyrse, ⁊ þæt us dereð eallum;  
 (49) ⁊ huru hit sceal hefeagian  
 heonanforð þearle rihtwisan  
 þearfan (50) ⁊ ðam  
 unbealafullum. Nu ða yfelan ⁊  
 ða swicelan swa oferlice (51)  
 swyðe brædað on worulde  
 ongearn þæt mæste yfel þe  
 mannum (52) is towerd;  
 ðæt is se þeodfeond Antecrist  
 sylfa.

(53) Eala, mycel wæs seo  
 ehtnes þe cristene þoledon iu  
 ær on (54) worlde oft ⁊  
 gelome þurh wælhreowe  
 manswican wide ⁊ side, (55) ⁊  
 huru hit sceal heonanforð  
 mænigfealdre weorðan, nu  
 deofol (56) sylf his mægnes

form.<sup>82</sup> Now the bonds of Satan  
 are greatly being relaxed, and the  
 time of the Antichrist is well at  
 hand. Therefore, in the world  
 [wickedness] is continually of a  
 longer duration and more base.<sup>83</sup>  
 Men are deceitful, and the world is  
 the worse;<sup>84</sup> and that hurts us all.  
 Indeed, henceforth evil<sup>85</sup> is  
 destined to severely oppress the  
 righteous poor and innocent.<sup>86</sup>  
 Now these evil and treacherous  
 ones<sup>87</sup> greatly increase in the  
 world so excessively towards the  
 greatest evil one who is about to  
 come to men;<sup>88</sup> that is the  
 archfiend, the Antichrist himself.<sup>89</sup>

Alas! Dreadful was the  
 persecution which Christians  
 suffered long ago in the world  
 often and frequently through  
 savage traitors far and wide.  
 Indeed, henceforth it is destined<sup>90</sup>  
 to become more prevalent now  
 that the devil himself is allowed to

mot wealdan, ⁊ deofles bearn  
 swa swiðlice (57) motan  
 cristene bregcan. And oft ær  
 wæs mænigfeald ehtnes, (58)  
 næfre þeah þam gelic þe æfter  
 ðysan gyt bið. Forðam hit wæs  
 (59) oft ær þæt Godes halgan  
 fela wundra þurh Godes mihta  
 openlice (60) worhtan on  
 gemang þam þe hy ehtnesse  
 þoledon, ⁊ ðurh (61) þæt  
 mænigne man gebettan. Ac hit  
 ne bið na swa on (62)  
 Antecristes timan. Ne magan  
 þonne halige men on þam timan  
 (63) ænige tacne openlice  
 wyrcan, ac sculan þolian eal  
 þæt heom (64) man to deð.  
 Ne God þonne ane hwile his  
 mihta ne his wundra (65) sylf  
 nele cyðan, swa he oft ær dyde,  
 ac læt þone deofol Antecrist  
 (66) rabbian ⁊ wedan sume  
 hwile ⁊ þa ðe him fylstað. He  
 bið (67) mennisc man

wield his power,<sup>91</sup> and the children  
 of the devil are allowed to terrify  
 Christians<sup>92</sup> so severely. Often  
 before persecution was prevalent,  
 although never equal to that which  
 will occur at the end of time,<sup>93</sup>  
 because often before the saints of  
 God publicly<sup>94</sup> performed many  
 miracles through the power of God  
 among the assembly<sup>95</sup> for whom  
 they suffered persecution, and on  
 account of that many a man  
 repented. But it will not be so  
 during the time of the Antichrist.  
 Holy men will not be able to  
 publicly perform any miracles  
 during that time, but are destined  
 to endure all that mankind will do  
 to them. Then for a certain space  
 of time<sup>96</sup> God himself will not  
 desire to reveal either his mighty  
 works or his miraculous powers, as  
 he often did in the past,<sup>97</sup> but will  
 allow the devil, Antichrist, and  
 those who support him<sup>98</sup> to rage

geboren, ac he bið þeah mid  
 deofles gaste eal (68) afylled;  
 ⁊ se gesewenlica feond wyrcoð  
 þurh deofles cræft fela (69)  
 wunderlicra tacna ⁊ þurh  
 drycræft mænigfealde  
 gedwimera. (70) And  
 feorðhealf gear he ricsað ofer  
 mancynn ⁊ mid his (71)  
 scincræftum mæst manna  
 beswicð þe æfre ær ðurh ænig  
 ðing (72) beswicen wurde.  
 And þa ðe he elles mid his  
 lotwrencum (73) bepæcan ne  
 mæg, þa he wile þreatian ⁊  
 ægeslice wyldan ⁊ (74)  
 earmlice pinian on  
 mænigfealde wisan ⁊ neadunga  
 nydan, þæt (75) hy gebungan  
 to his unlaran. He aginð leogan  
 deoflice swyðe (76) ⁊ ætsæcð  
 Cristes ⁊ cweð þæt he sylf sy  
 Godes agen bearn, ⁊ (77)  
 gebringð on gedwylde ealles to  
 manege. And God him gedafað

and rave during that time.<sup>99</sup> He  
 will be born a human being, but he  
 will be completely filled, however,  
 with the spirit of the devil.<sup>100</sup> And  
 this visible fiend will perform the  
 work of the devil through many  
 wonderful signs,<sup>101</sup> and through  
 sorcery numerous illusions. And  
 for three and a half years he will  
 reign over mankind,<sup>102</sup> and with  
 his art of deception will deceive  
 the greatest [number] of people  
 whom ever before was deceived  
 through any means. And those  
 whom he will not be able to  
 deceive with his cunning, those he  
 will purpose to threaten and to  
 control fearfully, and to torment  
 miserably in numerous ways, and  
 to compel forcibly, so that they will  
 submit to his evil teachings.<sup>103</sup> He  
 will begin to lie very devilishly  
 and to deny Christ, and will declare  
 that he himself is God's own  
 child,<sup>104</sup> and will lead all too many

(78) þæt for manna  
 gewyrhtum þæt he sume  
 hwile mot swa (79) wodlice  
 derian, forðam þe men beoð  
 þurh synna swa swyðe (80)  
 forwyrhte þæt deofol mot  
 openlice þonne heora fandian  
 hu (81) fela he forspanan  
 mæge to ecan forwyrde. And  
 þa ðe swa (82) gesælige  
 þonne weorþað þæt hi Godes  
 lage healdað on an (83) swyðe  
 georne 7 on rihtan geleafan  
 anrædlican þurhwunian (84)  
 willað, þa sculon þolian  
 ehtnesse þa mæstan þe æfre  
 ær on (85) worulde ænige  
 men þoledon, 7 eac mycle  
 maran þonne æfre (86) ær  
 ahwar gewurdan oððon æfter  
 þam æfre eft weorðan. Ac se  
 (87) bið gesælig þe þonne ne  
 awacað, forðam raðe æfter  
 þam witod (88) him bið  
 towerd þurh Godes mihte ece

into error. And God will permit  
 him that because of the deeds of  
 men, so that for a certain space of  
 time he thus will be allowed to  
 injure furiously, because then men  
 will be so greatly condemned for  
 their sins that the devil will be  
 allowed to explore openly how  
 many of them he will be able to  
 seduce into eternal death.<sup>105</sup> Then  
 those who will be so blessed that  
 they continually keep the law of  
 God very zealously<sup>106</sup> and wish to  
 continue steadfastly in orthodox  
 faith, those are destined to suffer  
 the greatest persecution<sup>107</sup> which  
 ever before in the world any men  
 suffered, and, moreover, much  
 greater than ever before occurred  
 anywhere or will ever occur  
 again.<sup>108</sup> But he will be blessed  
 who will not fall away then,<sup>109</sup>  
 because immediately after that  
 [time] eternal comfort, through the  
 might of God, assuredly will be at

frofer. La, hwylc (89) wunder  
 bið þeah se mennisca deofol  
 synfullum mote heardlice (90)  
 derian, þonne God gefafað þæt  
 he mot on his agenum halgum  
 (91) swylc wundor gewyrcean  
 þæt Enoch ⁊ Elias þurh þonne  
 þeodfeond (92) gemartrode  
 weorðap, þe God sylfa fela hund  
 wintra mid saule (93) ⁊ lich-  
 aman geheold ær to þam anan,  
 þæt hi þonne scoldan mid (94)  
 heora lare folce gebeogan, þæt  
 hit eal ne forwurde (95) en-  
 demes ætgædere þurh þonne  
 deofol þe ealle men bregeð ⁊  
 (96) ealle woruld drefeð?

(97) Nis se man on life þe  
 mæge oððe cunne swa yfel hit  
 asecgan (98) swa hit sceal  
 geweorðan on þam deoflican  
 timan. Ne byrhð (99) þonne  
 broðor oðrum hwilan ne fæder  
 his bearne ne bearn his (100)  
 agenum fæder ne gesibb

hand for him. Alas! Will there be  
 any wonder if this human devil is  
 allowed to injure the sinful  
 severely, when God will permit the  
 devil to work<sup>110</sup> such miraculous  
 power against his own saints that  
 Enoch and Elijah--whom God  
 himself preserved in body and soul  
 many hundred years before for  
 one purpose, that at that time they  
 are destined to preserve the  
 people with their preaching, so  
 that they will not all die in the  
 same way together on account of  
 the devil who will terrify all men  
 and trouble all the world<sup>111</sup>--will  
 be martyred by the arch-fiend?<sup>112</sup>

The man does not exist in this  
 life who may or who is able to  
 describe the evil as it is destined to  
 be in that devilish time.<sup>113</sup> Then  
 brother will not defend another,  
 nor again a father his child, nor a  
 child his own father,<sup>114</sup> nor a  
 kinsman a relative any more than

gesibban þe ma þe fremdan. And  
 (101) þeodscypas winnað ⁊  
 sacað heom betweenan foran to  
 þam (102) timan þe þis sceal  
 geweorþan. Eac sceal aspringan  
 wide ⁊ side (103) sacu ⁊ clacu,  
 hol ⁊ hete ⁊ rypera reaflac, here  
 ⁊ hunger, bryne (104) ⁊  
 blodgyte ⁊ styrnlíce styrunga,  
 stric ⁊ steorfa ⁊ fela gelimpa.  
 (105) And mænigfealde tacna  
 beoð wide gesawene on sunnan ⁊  
 on (106) monan ⁊ on mistlican  
 tunglan, ⁊ fela cynna egesan  
 geweorþað (107) on eorðan  
 folce to heortgryre ⁊ to egeslican  
 fære on (108) mænigfealde  
 wisan. And eal hit forwurde gyf  
 God ne gescyrte (109) þæs  
 þeodscaðan lifdagas þe raþor  
 ðurh his mihta. Ac for þæra  
 (110) gebeorge þe him syn  
 gecorene ⁊ ðe he habban wyle  
 gehealden (111) ⁊ geholpen he  
 fordeð þæne þeodfeond ⁊ on

a stranger.<sup>115</sup> And the nations will  
 fight and contend between  
 themselves up until the time that  
 this is destined to occur.  
 Moreover, there shall arise far and  
 wide contention, harm, malice,  
 hatred, plundering of robbers, a  
 marauding army,<sup>116</sup> famine, fire,  
 bloodshed, violent commotion,  
 plague, pestilence, and many  
 misfortunes. And many signs will  
 be widely seen in the sun, moon,  
 and various stars. And many  
 kinds of horror will occur on earth  
 to people by terror of the heart  
 and by terrible peril in numerous  
 ways.<sup>117</sup> And all will be destroyed  
 if God does not at once shorten the  
 days<sup>118</sup> of this arch-harmer  
 through his might. But for the  
 safety of those who will be chosen  
 by him and whom he will desire to  
 have protected and preserved, he  
 will destroy the arch-fiend and  
 afterwards plunge him into the

helle grund (112) þananforð  
 besenced mid eallum þam  
 gegenge þe him (113) ær  
 fyligde 7 his unlarum to swyðe  
 gelyfde. Ðonne wurð (114)  
 Godes dom rihtlice toscaden; 7 ða  
 þonne witodlice þe nu (115) God  
 lufiad 7 Godes lagum fylgeað 7  
 Godes lare geornlice (116) hly-  
 stað 7 hy wel healdað 7 anræd-  
 lice þurhwuniað on rihtan (117)  
 geleafan forð oð heora ende, þa  
 scylan habban ece edlean on  
 (118) heofonlicre myrhðe mid  
 Gode sylfum æfter þam dome 7  
 mid (119) his halgum þananforð  
 æfre. Ðær is ece blis 7 æfre bið  
 in ealra (120) worulda woruld a  
 butan ende, amen.

abyss of hell with all the company  
 who previously followed him and  
 too strongly trusted in his evil  
 teachings.<sup>119</sup> Then the Last  
 Judgment of God will be justly  
 separated out.<sup>120</sup> Then those who  
 certainly love God now, and obey  
 the laws of God, and eagerly listen  
 to and rightly observe the counsel  
 of God,<sup>121</sup> and continue steadfastly  
 in the orthodox faith up until the  
 end--those shall have everlasting  
 reward in heavenly joy<sup>122</sup> with  
 God himself after Judgment, and  
 with his saints forever. In that  
 place there is everlasting joy, and  
 there always will be in all the  
 world of worlds forever without  
 end!<sup>123</sup> AMEN.<sup>124</sup>

## NOTES

1. This is the probable chronological order. They date between 996-1002 while he was Bishop of London, Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), p. 56, hereafter cited as Bethurum.

2. William L. DeLeeuw, "The Eschatological Homilies of Wulfstan: A Rhetorical Analysis" (Ph.D. diss., Auburn University, 1972), hereafter cited as DeLeeuw.

3. Vivien Scott Wynne, "A Translation of Wulfstan's Homilies: With Especial Reference to the Use of the Subjunctive" (M.A. thesis, The University of Texas, 1919), hereafter cited as Wynne. At times her translation is closer to a paraphrase.

4. Bethurum, p. 56. His consecration is recorded in G. N. Garmonsway, trans., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Translated with an Introduction* (1953; repr., London, 1972), F 996, at p. 131.

5. Dorothy Whitelock, "Wulfstan at York," in *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London, 1981), section XV, pp. 214-31, at p. 214, hereafter cited as Whitelock, "Wulfstan at York"; and Dorothy Whitelock, "Introduction to *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*" in *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London, 1981), section XIV, pp. 1-45, at p. 10, hereafter cited as Whitelock, "Introduction to *Serma*"

6. Bethurum, p. 58. Whitelock states, "[A]n anonymous ecclesiastic, writing to him in Latin no later than this year [1002], speaks of 'the most



sweet sagacity of your eloquence and the prolixity as well as the profundity of your elegantly arranged narrative.' As he uses Wulfstan's attainments as his excuse for declining to undertake some translation himself, he apparently did not think them easy to imitate," "Archbishop Wulfstan, Homilist and Statesman," in *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England* (London, 1981), section XI, pp. 42-60, at p. 45, hereafter cited as Whitelock, "Archbishop Wulfstan." For Latin text of this letter see Bethurum's Appendix II, p. 374.

7. Bethurum, pp. 61, 69.

8. Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066: A Constitutional History* (Hamden, Conn., 1963), p. 68, hereafter cited as Barlow.

9. Whitelock, "Introduction to *Sermones*" p. 31; for list of works familiar to Wulfstan see pp. 31-34. For list of works familiar to Ælfric and Wulfstan see Barlow, pp. 70-71, 283-87. Barlow states, "They are essentially the books collected during the monastic reform of the tenth century, and so go back to the compilations made in the Frankish empire in the century before--products of the Carolingian renaissance. Ælfric probably relied mainly on the collections made by Æthelwold at Winchester, Abingdon, and the other monasteries. Wulfstan, who plundered Ælfric, was at least as widely read, for he found a fine library at Worcester, rich especially in legal manuscripts, and perhaps some relics of Alcuin's [(735-804)] library at York," pp. 283-84.

10. Bethurum, pp. 60, 84. For a list of many of the works contained within this library see pp. 60-61.

11. Bethurum, p. 59.

12. Whitelock, "Archbishop Wulfstan," p. 56. For Servatus Lupus, a student of Hrabanus Maurus and one of the chief figures of the Carolingian Renaissance, see "Servatus Lupus," in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* ed. F. L. Cross (1958; repr., London, 1963), p. 831. For Latin texts of some of these penitential letters see Bethurum's Appendix II, pp. 374-77.

13. Whitelock, "Introduction to *Serma*" p. 9. Bethurum concurs, stating, "[H]is activities as bishop are closely linked with reforms instituted by the Benedictines, and the religious temper in England in 1002 would have made the appointment of a secular priest to the archbishopric very unacceptable," p. 57.

14. Bethurum, p. 63.

15. Whitelock, "Introduction to *Serma*" pp. 14-15.

16. Bethurum, p. 59.

17. Bethurum, p. 60. For discussion of the Worcester and York dioceses see Barlow, pp. 226-29.

18. Whitelock, "Wulfstan at York," p. 214. She argues that the *Law of the Northumbrian Priests* "very probably belongs to Wulfstan's archiepiscopate," "Introduction to *Serma*" p. 13.

19. Whitelock, "Wulfstan at York," p. 216. For her discussion of these manuscripts see pp. 216-24.

20. Bethurum, p. 70. For his writings see also Whitelock, "Introduction to *Sermo*" pp. 17-28.

21. Bethurum, p. 63.

22. Barlow, p. 70.

23. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, J. F. Shaw, trans., Great Books of the Western World, no. 18 (Chicago, 1984), 4.5.7, p. 677; 4.6.9, pp. 677-78, hereafter cited as Augustine.

24. Bethurum, p. 91. For *figuræ sententiarum* see Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms: A Guide for Students of English Literature* (Berkeley, 1968), especially section 3.9 "Metaphorical Substitutions and Puns," pp. 223-24, hereafter cited as Lanham.

25. Bethurum, p. 97.

26. Barlow, p. 70.

27. Bethurum, III 36, p. 124 contains a Latin quote from Sapientiae [Wisdom] 5:21.

28. Bethurum, pp. 88-89.

29. Augustine, 4.19.38, pp. 687-88. It was probably the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, rather than Cicero's *De oratore*, which influenced Augustine, and thus Wulfstan, on the three kinds of styles. For these three kinds of style see [Cicero], *Ad C. Herennium: De ratione dicendi (Rhetorica ad Herennium)*, Harry Caplan, ed. and trans., Loeb Classical

Library, no. 403 (1953; repr., Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 4.7.11-4.12.17, pp. 252-69, hereafter cited as *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. George A. Kennedy says of it, "Through the Middle Ages and until the late fifteenth century the treatise was commonly regarded as a work by Cicero and often known as the *Rhetorica Secunda*," *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), p. 96. Though there is no record of a manuscript containing *Rhetorica ad Herennium* in England before the eleventh century, two possibilities arise. One, Wulfstan had direct access to a manuscript containing *Rhetorica ad Herennium* which was either destroyed or lost. Two, which is more probable, Wulfstan is indirectly influenced by *Rhetorica ad Herennium* through Augustine, Alcuin, Isidore of Seville, Cassiodorus, and others whose works reflect this treatise.

Ida Masters Hollowell states, "that in [low style] Homilies II and IV, clauses are characterized by brevity, subordination, and an even use of nouns and verbs; they tend in general to be retrospective. On the other hand, clauses in [high style] Homilies V and XX tend to be longer--some times very long--while the homilies favor principal clauses and large use of nouns, in a style that features accumulation of detail; it is a style which keeps the mind focused ahead in anticipation of the rush of words to come," "Linguistic Factors Underlying Style Levels in Four Homilies of Wulfstan," *Neophilologus* 61 (1977), 287-96, at p. 295, hereafter cited as Hollowell, "Linguistic Factors."

30. Angus McIntosh, "Wulfstan's Prose," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 35 (1949), 109-42, at p. 114, hereafter cited as McIntosh.

31. McIntosh, pp. 114-16.

32. McIntosh, p. 123.

33. Bethurum appears to agree with McIntosh, p. 92. However, even though Otto Funke agrees with him in principle, he understands that many of the lines of Wulfstan's prose do not conform to these two-stress syntactical units, "Some Remarks on Wulfstan's Prose Rhythm," *English Studies: A Journal of English Letters and Philology* 43 (1962), 311-18.

34. Ida Masters Hollowell, "On the Two-Stress Theory of Wulfstan's Rhythm," *Philological Quarterly* 61 (1982), 1-11, at p. 4, hereafter cited as Hollowell, "Two-Stress Theory."

35. Hollowell, "Linguistic Factors," p. 295. Bethurum believes Wulfstan was not trying to copy verse, though he was conscious of rhythm, p. 94.

36. Hollowell, "Two-Stress Theory," p. 8.

37. Bethurum, p. 89-90.

38. Bethurum V 26-32, V 42-52. This is called contextualization.

39. For *ælfre* see Bethurum V 38, 40, 86, 119 (twice); *ælfre ær* V 71, 84, 85.

40. For *swyðe* see Bethurum V 15, 41, 46, 51, 75, 79, 83, 113; *ealles to swyðe* V 18.

41. For *georne* see Bethurum V 41, 83; *oft ȝ gelome* V 54; *witodlice* V 114; *oft ær* V 57, 59, 65; *wide* V 26, 28, 105; *wide ȝ side* V 30, 54, 102.

42. For *eala* see Bethurum V 53; *eala eala* V 33; *la* V 14, 88.

43. Bethurum, p. 90.

44. For *þeodfeond* see Bethurum V 52, 91, 111; *þeodscaðan* V 109.

45. Bethurum, p. 90.

46. For formulae in Old English literature see Francis P. Magoun, Jr., "Oral-Formulaic Character of Anglo-Saxon Narrative Poetry," *Speculum* 28 (1953), 446-67; Larry D. Benson, "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry," *PMLA* 81 (1966), 334-41. These are two opposing views, and even though they are geared toward poetry and the oral tradition, they are certainly of value for analysing formulae in prose.

47. I have discussed these and many other formulae used in *Secundum Marcum* in much greater detail in my commentary on the translation. For a partial list of formulae and repetitive phrases used in other homilies see Bethurum, pp. 90-91.

48. For *on worulde* see Bethurum V 10, 14, 26, 34, 39, 47, 51, 54, 85, 120; *nu is se tima* V 15, 24; *þæt is in Englisc* V 27, 43.

49. Bethurum, p. 91. For shemes see *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, 4.13.19-4.30.41, pp. 275-333; Lanham, pp. 130-32. For a good analysis of all the figures which occur in Wulfstan's eschatological homilies see DeLeeuw, pp. 137-259.

50. I am foregoing the cumbersome task of documenting homily and line numbers in footnotes for these references; instead, I will give the homily numbers from Bethurum's edition in parenthetical references within the text of my narrative. Note that homily II, *Lectio sancti evangelii secundum Matheum*, does not specifically refer to Antichrist.

51. I discussed this interpretation in greater detail in my commentary of the translation.

52. Proof that Wulfstan was not willing to set a date for these things to occur, though he suspected the time was very near.

53. The second beast of Revelation 13 is commonly interpreted as the False Prophet of Revelation 16:13, and the lieutenant of the first beast who is commonly interpreted as Antichrist.

54. Wulfstan's Homily V is contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201 (N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* [Oxford, 1957], no. 49, s. xi med., hereafter cited as Ker), pp. 68-71, hereafter cited as C; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (Ker, no. 331, s. xi [3rd quarter]), fols. 44-47b, hereafter cited as E; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodleian 343 (Ker, no. 310, s. xii2), fols. 141b-2b, hereafter cited as H, Bethurum, p. 134. This translation is based on Bethurum's edition, pp. 134-141.

55. *Interrogatus . . . fient, et reliqua*: "Jesus, having been . . . again arise, et cetera," paraphrase of Matthew 24:3-4 and translation of Mark 13:14a, 17, 19. The Latin *Interrogatus . . . eis* paraphrases Matthew

24:3-4 and serves as an introduction to the passage from Mark. Ælfric uses the same introduction in *Sermo de die Iudicij* homily XVIII 27-29: *Interrogatus Iesus a discipulis de consummatione seculi, dixit eis: Cum autem uideritis abominationem desolationis, et reliqua* (*Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, ed. John C. Pope, 2 vols. [London, 1967-68], 2:600, hereafter cited as Pope). Pope states, "When we find Wulfstan using the same introduction to the sermon entitled *Secundum Marcum* (Bethurum v), we may be sure he took it from Ælfric," 2:610.

56. E adds "We wish to tell you to some extent how" before "Beloved men." The formula *be sumum dæle* "to some extent" also occurs in homily XX(BH) 120, and occurs as *be suman dæle* in homilies VI 24, XIX 44, and XX(EI) 191, Bethurum, pp. 259, 143, 252, 275.

Wulfstan's use of the *Leofan men* "Beloved men" introduction formula is rather unique. Bethurum states, "Most Old English homilies have *Men þa leofestan* ['Dearest men']. Ælfric, who uses the phrase infrequently, has *Mine gebroðra* ['My brothers']. Wulfstan's are the only homilies using exactly this formula," p. 285. But C. I. J. M. Stuart argues that at Worcester the opening phrase "*Leofan men* had gained currency outside Wulfstan's usage," stating it "occurs six times in three other eleventh century manuscripts connected with Worcester," and none of these can be attributed to Wulfstan, "Wulfstan's use of *Leofan men*" *English Studies* (1964) 39-42, at p. 41. However, as Stuart himself notes,



this formula occurs 63 times in the homilies printed in Bethurum's edition.

57. "the apostles . . . world," paraphrase of Mark 13:3-4.

58. "such afflictions . . . occur," translation of Mark 13:19; cf. Daniel 12:1. A less literal Latin rendering with translation occurs in homily III 57-60, Bethurum, p.126. Cf. homilies Ib 18-20, II 47-48, IV 10-11 and 14-15, Bethurum, pp. 117, 120, 128.

59. "Woe . . . children," translation of Mark 13:17. It cannot be determined with any certainty if the OE here refers to one or two distinct groups of women. If two distinct groups are in view--an argument which finds support in the renderings of Mark 13:17 by the Vulgate (*Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Clementinam*, ed. Alberto Colunga and Laurentio Turrado, 9th ed. [Madrid, Spain, 1985], p. 1006, hereafter cited as *Vulgatam*), Douay-Rheims, AV, RSV, NASB, NIV, and NKJV--then they are understood to be both the women who are pregnant and the women who are nursing their children in that *timan* "time." The *timan* here is the one described as *Antecristes tima* "the time of the Antichrist" (V 46), *on Antecristes timan* (V 61, 62), and *þam deoflican timan* "that devilish time" (V 98). That Wulfstan saw this as a literal period of time lasting for three and a half years is evident from his statement in V 70: *And feorðehealf gear he ricsað ofer mancynn* (Bethurum, pp. 137ff) "And for three and a half years he will reign over mankind." Therefore, his intention may be to place an emphasis on the sustained period of

tribulation wherein pregnant women eventually bear and try to nourish their children through infancy, rather than to merely express a moment in time when pregnant women and women with nursing infants are equally troubled. If this is correct, then he may have been influenced by the short rendering of Mark 13:17 in the West-Saxon Gospel of Mark: *Wacennendum on þam dagum!* (James Wilson Bright, ed., *The Gospel of Saint Mark in West-Saxon: Edited from the Manuscripts* [1905; repr. New York, 1972], p. 65, hereafter cited as Bright, *Mark*) "Woe to them who conceive in those days!"

60. "to become exceedingly evil," or "to grow exceedingly worse."

61. That *nyde* should be placed in the translation next to *for folces synnan* "for the sins of the people" is obvious from the context.

The translations of *sceal* "is destined" and *nyde* "inevitably" are justified by the force of Wulfstan's language. According to Joseph Bosworth (*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. T. Northcote Toller [London, 1983], p. 718, hereafter cited as *A-S Dictionary*) *nyde* means "of necessity, because a law, natural, moral or human, is to be satisfied." That tribulations would increase because of the sins of the people is, in Wulfstan's view, a predestined fact evidenced by God's Word "which the apostle Paul foretold long ago." He understands that God's divine law is to be satisfied.

62. E contains a Latin gloss corresponding to "the last days . . . exist": *erit in nouissimis diebus homines se ipsos amantes* ["in the last days

men will be lovers of themselves"], 2 Timothy 1b-2a. Bethurum says the gloss "is written in a very small hand" above line 17, p. 135.

63. "in the last days . . . condemned in sins," paraphrase of 2 Timothy 3:1-5a.

64. The formula *gecnawe se ðe cunne* "let him understand who can," which Bethurum notes is "a favourite phrase" (p. 290), may be inspired by a biblical passage like: "He who has ears, let him hear" (Matthew 11:15, NIV; cf. Matthew 13:9, 43; Mark 4:9, 23; Luke 8:8; 14:35; Revelation 2:7, 11, 17, 29; 3:6, 13, 22; 13:9). However, it is more likely inspired by the very passage Wulfstan quotes from in the scriptural reading above: "When you see 'the abomination that causes desolation' standing where it does not belong--let the reader understand," Mark 13:14, NIV; cf. Matthew 24:15.

65. For "And too many . . . fraud" H reads: "And they will be entirely too arrogant on account of pretentiousness, and all too high spirited, and too vainglorious from too much exalting in pride. And they will be contemptuously blaspheming the Godhead, and despising learning, and desiring wickedness. And they will be treacherous in deeds, and deceptive in words, and without honor condemned for their actions. They will follow their desires and diverse kinds of sin. (Let he who is able understand that now is the time wherein this world is confused by diverse kinds of evil and with diverse kinds of fraud.) And they will become treacherous when they make terms for a treaty. And when that

evil one will have been able to feign [himself] for God and falsehood for truth, then he will appear wise."

66. *Quoniam . . . multorum*: "Because wickedness . . . grow cold," Matthew 24:12. This verse is also quoted by Wulfstan in homily II 21, Bethurum, p. 119. Pope believes Ælfric's quotation of this verse in homily XVIII 330 (2:605) "may have prompted Wulfstan to quote it in *Secundum Marcum*," 2:611. See note 74.

The Greek text (*The Greek New Testament*, ed. Kurt Aland, et al., 3rd ed. [Corrected] [New York, 1983], p. 93, hereafter cited as *Greek NT*) reads *ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν* "the love of most will grow cold" (NIV). *ἀγάπη* [*Agapē*] is "divine love" or "Christian love." In connection with this verse, Joseph Henry Thayer defines it as "the love of men to men; esp. of that love of Christians towards Christians which is enjoined and prompted by their religion," *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Being Grimm's Wilke's Clovis Novi Testamenti, Translated, Revised, and Enlarged* (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1979), p. 4, hereafter cited as Thayer. The Latin *caritas* "charity (Christian virtue)" (R. E. Latham, ed., *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List: From British and Irish Sources* [London, 1980], p. 72) reflects this meaning. *Multorum* "most" literally means "the many" or "the common mass" (William Smith and John Lockwood, ed., *Chambers Murray Latin-English Dictionary* [1933; London, 1986], p. 448), but in this context apparently refers to "the universal Church" or "Brotherhood." So the Greek and Latin may be

paraphrased as follows: "Because wickedness has abounded, the Christian love of the Church will grow cold." That Wulfstan so interprets the meaning of this verse seems evident from his translation and commentary which follow.

67. The formula *Ðæt is on Englisc* "That is in English" commonly occurs after Latin quotations of Scripture. See homilies Ib 8; III 24, 37, 58; V 27-28, 43, Bethurum, pp. 116, 124, 125, 126, 135, 136.

68. H omits "all too widely."

69. *Soð lufu* "true love," that is, "Christian love." See note 66.

70. For "No man . . . stand for anything" H reads: "No man loves God now, nor heeds the Law of God, nor desires His teachings, as one should."

71. For "far and wide" H reads "too strongly in the world."

72. H omits "and treaties with men are not to be relied upon."

73. Wulfstan exemplifies these "numerous ways" in *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos Quando Dani Maxime Persecuti Sunt Eos, Quod Fuit Anno Millesimo XIII Ab Incarnatione Domini Nostri Iesu Cristi* (Whitelock, ed., *Sermo Lupi Ad Anglos* (London, 1952), pp. 40-41, at lines 62-71, hereafter cited as Whitelock, *Sermo Lupi*; see also homily XX(EI) 61-70, Bethurum, p. 269): "Now very often a kinsman has not protected a relative any more than a foreigner, nor a father his child, nor again a child its own father, nor one brother another. Neither has any of us set his life in order as he should, nor ordained [bishops] according to the canons of the church, nor laymen according to the law. But entirely too often, for ourselves we

have made lust into law, and have kept neither the teachings nor the laws of God or men as we should. Nor has anyone intended honestly towards another as properly as he should, but almost everyone has deceived and injured others by word and action, and indeed almost everyone has wrongfully cut down another from behind with disgraceful attacks." In the first sentence Wulfstan combines a paraphrase of Matthew 10:21 with an indictment against his own people. (Cf. his paraphrases of this verse in homilies III 54-55 and V 98-100, Bethurum, pp. 125, 140.) He may have been influenced by Micah 7:6 as well, wherein the deterioration of the family unit in Israel during the eighth century B.C. is portrayed under similar conditions of widespread lawlessness and apathy towards God.

74. "*Quoniam abundabit . . . is able understand!*" Cf. Ælfric's homily XVIII 328-37 (Pope 2:605): "He meant not the winter which customarily comes in the year's circuit, but as he said in another place, *Quia abundabit iniquitas, refrigescet caritas multorum*. That is in the English language, that in the evil time injustice will arise and greatly multiply, and true love will greatly cool, not of all men, but of very many, so that they love not at all the living God, nor their neighbors, nor therefore themselves; because he who loves not God loves not himself" (translation by Milton McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Ælfric and Wulfstan* [Toronto, 1977], p.184, at note 18, hereafter cited as Gatch). Gatch believes Wulfstan used this as a source, stating, "It is difficult to

imagine, that had he not been following Ælfric, Wulfstan would have had recourse to this idea at this point in his sermon," p. 21.

75. *Eala, eala* "Oh! Alas!" is almost certainly inspired by the Greek, Johannine formula *Ἀμήν ἀμήν* (*Greek NT*, p. 326ff.) "Truly, truly" (NASB) found exclusively in the Gospel of John (25 times) and only in the words of Jesus. The sound is similar to the Latin Vulgate's *Amen, amen* at John 1:51; 3:3, 5, 11; 5:19, 24, 25; 6:26, 32, 47, 54; 8:34, 51, 58; 10:1, 7; 12:24; 13:16, 20, 21, 38; 14:12; 16:20, 23; 21:18, *Vulgatam*, pp. 1043ff. The West-Saxon Gospel of John shortens this to *Soð* except at 8:51; 12:24; and 13:16 where it reads *Soðlice*; James Wilson Bright, ed., *The Gospel of Saint John in West-Saxon: Edited from the Manuscripts, with Introduction, and Notes* (1904; repr. New York, 1972), hereafter cited as Bright, *John*. Cf. "Verily, verily" of the AV.

76. "depravity," or "opposition." "But great is that depravity which now is approaching," cf. homilies Ib 26 and II 49, Bethurum, pp. 117, 121.

77. For "Oh! Alas! . . . who can endure" H reads: "Alas! Great was that goodness which was coming to help and comfort all mankind, when Christ was about to come to us through human birth. And dreadful is the wickedness which is about to come to men. Endure of this misery he who can abide!" Cf. homilies Ib 20-22 and IV 8-11, Bethurum, pp. 117, 128.

The subjunctive mood of "Endure this misery him who can endure" is very similar to the formula "Let him who is able understand!" (See note 64.) Both are quite possibly inspired by the same eschatological, biblical

passage: "He [the beast that came out of the sea, i.e., the Antichrist] was given power to make war against the saints and to conquer them. And he was given authority over every tribe, people, language and nation. All inhabitants of the earth will worship the beast--all whose names have not been written in the book of life belonging to the Lamb that was slain from the creation of the world. He who has an ear, let him hear. If anyone is to go into captivity, / into captivity he will go. / If anyone is to be killed with the sword, / with the sword he will be killed. This calls for patient endurance and faithfulness on the part of the saints," Revelation 13:7-10, NIV. The Olivet Discourse--Matthew 24-25, Mark 13:1-37, Luke 21:5-36; especially Matthew 24:21-22, Mark 13:19-20, Luke 21:26--and Daniel 7:24b-25 also foretell of the tribulations which the saints will have to endure, and may have inspired Wulfstan's plea as well.

78. "Oh! Alas! . . . will be hereafter," cf. the contrasts between Christ and Antichrist in Adso's *Libellus de Antichristo* (c. 954, Richard Kenneth Emmerson, "From *Epistola* to *Sermo*: The Old English Version of Adso's *Libellus de Antichrista*" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 82 [1983] 1-10, at p. 2) where explaining why Antichrist is so named, the abbot states: "This is because he will be contrary to Christ in all things, that is, his actions will be contrary to Christ. Christ came as a humble man; he will come as a proud man. Christ came to raise up the lowly, to pass judgment on sinners; he, on the contrary, will cast down the lowly, glorify sinners, exalt the impious and always teach vices which are



opposite to virtues," translated in John Wright, trans., "Adso's Essay on Antichrist," in *The Play of Antichrist* (Toronto, 1967), pp. 100-10, at p. 102, hereafter cited as Wright; edition of text in D. Verhelst, ed., *Adso Dervensis: De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis, no. 45 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1976), pp. 20-30, at p. 22, lines 2-7, hereafter cited as Verhelst. In his *Præfatio* Ælfric likewise contrasts them, "Christ our Lord healed the weak and diseased, and the devil, who is called Antichrist, which is interpreted, Opposition-Christ, weakens and enfeebles the hale," *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Thorpe, 2 vols. (1944-46; repr., New York, 1971), 1:4, lines 20-22, and 1:5, hereafter cited as Thorpe. Also cf. homily IV 6-11, Bethurum, p. 128.

79. "Now of necessity . . . prophecied long ago" recalls the previous statement: "Behold, moreover it is destined to become exceedingly evil in the world as an inevitable consequence for the sins of the people, because now is the time which the apostle Paul foretold long ago," homily V 14-16, Bethurum, p. 134.

80. *Post . . . Satanas*: "After . . . released [from his prison]," Revelation 20:7. Wulfstan shared a common belief of his day, based on the interpretation of Revelation 20, that the Great Tribulation would occur 1000 years after Christ's birth, or Passion, followed by the Last Judgment of God. A. Vasiliev's view that only a very few uneducated people held this belief is wrong; however, I agree with him that this view

was not nearly as prevalent throughout Western Europe as earlier historians believed, "Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East," *Byzantion: International Journal of Byzantine Studies* 16 (1942-43), 462-502, at pp. 478-89.

81. *Satanas* "Satan," according to Bethurum, "The Greek form *Satanas* is used occasionally in Old English instead of the Latin *Satan*," p. 291.

82. "One thousand years . . . in human form," according to Bethurum is "[o]ne of two references to an actual date in the homilies," p. 291. Homily XX(BH) 71 (Bethurum, p. 258) is the other. She states, "This makes clear, if the nature of the borrowings did not, that Wulfstan and not Ælfric is the borrower, since, as Dr. Sisam has shown (*RES* vii. 10), Ælfric's preface was written in the early 990's," p. 291.

83. "Therefore . . . base," lit. "And therefore, it is in the world ever longer and more base." The pronoun "it" probably implies "wickedness" or "evil" as indicated by Wulfstan's commentary above, e.g., *Nu sceal hit nyde yfelian swyðe* (homily V 40-41, Bethurum, p. 136) "Now of necessity it is destined to become exceedingly evil." Cf. translations of DeLeeuw, "it is in the world always ever worse and worse" (p. 220); and Wynne, "and the longer the world endures, the weaker it becomes," p. 106.

84. *woruld is þe wyrse* "the world is the worse," cf. *ðæs hit is þe wyrse wide on worulde* (homily V 25-26, Bethurum, p. 135) "from this

time on it will become worse in the world." Also cf. homilies Ib 24, III 14, IV 78-79, Bethurum, pp. 117, 123, 132.

85. "evil," lit. "it."

86. For "the righteous poor and innocent" H reads, "the righteous poor, good, and innocent."

The "righteous poor and innocent" almost certainly refer to those under the watchcare of the church. *þearfan* "the poor" is sometimes used in the sense of poor people "supported by the church," *A-S Dictionary*, p. 1041.

87. For "these evil and treacherous ones" C reads, "these evil, wicked, and treacherous ones."

88. *þæt mæste yfel þe mannum towerd* "the greatest evil one who is about to come to men," cf. *þæt mæste yfel cymð to mannum* (homily Ib 20-21, Bethurum, p. 117) "the greatest evil one who comes to men," and *muchel þeo yfelnesse þe monnum is toward* (homily V 36 at H, Bethurum, p. 136) "dreadful is the wickedness which is about to come to men."

89. This entire paragraph--"Oh! Alas! . . . the Antichrist himself"--"comes at the end of the homily" in H, Bethurum, p. 136.

90. *⁊ huru hit sceal heonanforð* "Indeed, henceforth it is destined," cf. homily V 49: *⁊ huru hit sceal hefegian heonanforð* (Bethurum, p. 137).

91. "is allowed to wield his power," in the sense of God allowing Satan to wield more power (for a limited time) than he has been allowed to in the past. (See Wulfstan's commentary below.) Wulfstan clearly stated this in homily IV 37-38 *God gefafað þam deofle Antecriste þæt he mot ehtan godra manna* (Bethurum, p. 130) "God will give consent to the devil, Antichrist, so that he may be able to persecute good men." This is an idea found in the biblical writings of the prophet Daniel and the apostles Paul and John; any or all of which are possible sources.

Daniel 7:25 states, "He [Antichrist] will speak against the Most High and oppress his saints. . . . The saints will be handed over to him for a time, times and a half time" (NIV). The phrase "a time, times and half a time" is found only in Daniel 7:25; 12:7; and Revelation 12:14. Wulfstan quotes it in his Latin homily Ia 20-21: *Tempus ergo Anticristi erit tempus et tempora et dimidium tempus* (Bethurum, p. 113) "Therefore, the time of the Antichrist will be a time, and times, and half a time," with the context pointing to a quotation of Daniel 7:25. (See note 102.)

John writes in Revelation 13:5-7: "The beast [Antichrist] was given . . . authority for forty-two months. . . . He was given power to make war against the saints and to conquer them. And he was given authority over every tribe, people, language and nation" (NIV). See 2 Thessalonians 2:1-12.

92. For "Christians" H reads, "the merciful."

93. "will occur at the end of time," lit. "will yet occur at the end of this one."

94. "publicly," or "freely."

95. The *gemang* "assembly" may refer to crowds gathered around public meeting places, such as the temple courts in Jerusalem or the market places of Mediterranean cities. However, it more likely refers to the Greek *ἐκκλησία*, though used in the New Testament to refer to local "churches" and the universal "Church," it is also used to refer to various kinds of assemblies in both the Old Testament and the New Testament. In Acts 19:32 *γαρ ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη* (*Greek NT*, p. 494) "the assembly was in confusion" (NIV) denotes a riot at Ephesus, an unlawful assembly, "a wholly irregular, disorganized mob in a state (perfect tense) of confusion," Archibald Thomas Robertson, *Word Pictures in the New Testament*, 6 vols. (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1930-33), 3:328. But Wulfstan's use of *gemang* almost certainly refers to the "assembly of God's people." The Hebrew *קהל* [*qahal*] "assembly, company, congregation" (Robert Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, and Bruce K. Waltke, ed., *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, 2 vols. [Chicago, 1981], 2:790, hereafter cited as *ThWOT*) is usually translated *ekklesia* in the Greek Septuagint, but is translated *συναγωγή* "an assembly of men . . . a synagogue" (Thayer, p. 600) 36 times, *ThWOT*, 2:790; see also Thayer, p. 196. (The Latin Vulgate often translates *qahal* as *ecclesia* Numeri 19:20; 20:4; Deuteronomy 23:1, 2, 3, 8; etc.) If "synagogue" is to be

inferred from *gemang*, it certainly finds biblical support in Luke's accounts of Saul first persecuting Christians in the Jewish synagogues (Acts 9:1-3; 22:19; 26:9-11), and then as Paul (after his conversion) preaching and performing mighty works in the synagogues at Salamis, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Thessalonica, Berea, Athens, Corinth, and Ephesus (Acts 9:20; 13:5, 14-48; 14:1-7; 17:1-9, 10-13, 16-17; 18:4, 19; 19:8-9). For a more thorough discussion of *ekklesia* as the assembly of God's people see Edmund P. Clowney, "Interpreting the Biblical Models of the Church: A Hermeneutical Deepening of Ecclesiology," in D. A. Carson, ed., *Biblical Interpretation and the Church: The problem of Contextualization* (Nashville, 1985), pp. 64-109, at p. 84ff.

96. *ane hwile* "for a certain space of time" carries the sense of a predetermined space of time, as does *sume hwile* below, here translated "in that time" but literally means "for a certain space of time." Wulfstan defines this time as being *feorðe healf gear* (V 70, Bethurum, p. 138) "for three and a half years." See note 59 above.

97. "as he often did in the past," witness such periods as the bondage in Egypt, the captivity in Babylon, and the time between Malachi and John the Baptizer. Wulfstan may have been influenced by such passages as Deuteronomy 31:16-18 and Micah 3:4-7 which describe what happens when God "hides his face" from his people because of their evil ways. Although the absence of visible, divine manifestation does not always mean that God is in the process of punishing his people, the sense here is

of a time when men will yearn for some sign from God, but none will come.

98. After "those who support him," H adds the amplification: "--that is Gog and Magog, who will be those of mankind who Alexander [the Great] confined within the mountain-gate. Then he placed a mark on all the members of the devil, that is all those who do the work of the devil and love wickedness and support the Antichrist anywhere in the world--." Bethurum correctly identifies this as a late interpolation, p. 291.

Richard Kenneth Emmerson states, "Referring to the *Pseudo-Methodius* Hugh of Newcastle (*Tractatus* 1:11) connects them [Gog and Magog] with the peoples enclosed by Alexander the Great. Originally, the legend of Alexander's Gate held that the king built a gate to hold back the Scythian invaders. When Josephus later identified the Scythians with Gog and Magog [*The Antiquities of the Jews* 1.6.1, in *Josephus: Complete Works*, ed. and trans. William Winston, (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1984), pp. 23-426, at pp. 30-31], the legend of Gog and Magog was merged with the Alexander legend. This identification further meant that in the later Middle Ages, Antichrist also became part of the popular Alexander legend," *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, 1981), p. 85, hereafter cited as Emmerson, *Antichrist*. For a full account of the Alexander legend see Andrew Runni Anderson, *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

99. "Then for a certain space . . . rave in that time," cf. homily III 45-47 (Bethurum, p. 125): "in the time of the Antichrist, when God will desire to reveal neither his mighty works nor his power, just as he often did in the past."

100. "He will be born a human being . . . of the devil," cf. Adso: "And just as the Holy Ghost came into the womb of the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ and covered her with His strength and filled her with divinity, so that she conceived from the Holy Ghost and what was born was divine and holy: so also the devil will go down into the womb of Antichrist's mother and fill her completely, possess her completely inside and out, so that she will conceive by man with the devil's assistance, and what is born will be completely foul, completely evil, completely ruined," Wright, p. 103; for Latin text see Verhelst, p. 22, lines 31-38. Ælfric writes, "Then Antichrist will come, who is human man and true devil, as our Savior is truly man and God in one person," Thorpe, 1:4, lines 14-16, and 1:5.

101. *⁊ se gesewenlica feond wyrð þurh deofles cræft fela wunderlicra tacna* "And this visible fiend . . . wonderful signs," cf. Ælfric's *And se gesewenlica deofol þonne wyrð ungerima wundra* "And this visible devil shall then work innumerable miracles," Thorpe, 1:4, lines 16-17, and 1:5.



102. See note 91 for biblical references. Adso states, "This awful and terrifying tribulation will last for three and a half years in the whole world," Wright, p. 105; for Latin text see Verhelst, p. 25, lines 92-94.

That *feorðehealf gear* should be translated as "three and a half years" is supported by two similar occurrences in Ælfric's homilies. In his *Preface to The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* Ælfric states: *Se Ælmihtiga God geðafað þam arleasan Antecriste to wyrceenne tacne, and wundra, and ehtnesse, to feorþan healfan gear*; Thorpe, 1:4, lines 29-31. (For Thorpe's translation see note 105.) The phrase also occurs in *Dominica quinta post Pascha* (Pope, 1:360, line 81) where Ælfric is recounting the narrative of Elijah's request that God withhold the rain (1 Kings 17-18), which He does for three and a half years (James 5:17). Further support comes from Wulfstan's Latin quote of Daniel 7:25 in his homily Ia 20-21 (see note 91), which makes clear that he understands the time of the Antichrist to be three and a half years. It is very unlikely that either Ælfric or Wulfstan intend *feorðehealf gear* to mean "four half-years," i.e., "two years." More probably they intend the meaning "half of the fourth year," i.e., "three and a half years."

103. "And this visible fiend . . . submit to his evil teachings," this passage is almost certainly influenced by Revelation 13:13-17 which gives many of the same attributes to the beast which comes "out of the earth," probably not the Antichrist but merely his lieutenant, the "false prophet" of 19:20 and 20:10. Bethurum (p. 291) notes that the latter part

of this passage is condensed from Adso: "Those whom he cannot corrupt by gifts, he will conquer by fear. Those whom he cannot terrify, he will try to seduce by signs and miracles. Those whom he cannot convince by miracles, he will cruelly torture, and put to a pitiful death in the sight of all," Wright, pp. 104-05; for Latin text see Verhelst, p. 25, lines 81-85. Cf. homily IV 43-47 (Bethurum, p. 130): "This visible devil will perform many miracles and proclaim that he himself is God, and with his illusions he will deceive almost every man. And those whom he will not be able to deceive otherwise, those he will compel forcibly, if he may, so that they will deny God and submit to him."

For *unlaran* "evil teachings," H reads *fals lore* "false teachings." Bethurum comments, "By the time the glosses in H were written, the perjorative force of *un-* was somewhat weakened. Antichrist's 'unlar' was probably not mere 'fals lore,' but 'evil teachings,'" p. 291.

104. *Godes agen bearn* "God's own child" is a rare formula. A more natural formula would be *Godes agen sunu* "God's own son" or even *Godes sunu* "the son of God." The latter formula occurs nine times in the West-Saxon Gospel of Matthew (James Wilson Bright, ed., *The Gospel of Saint Matthew in West-Saxon: Edited from the Manuscripts* [1904; repr. New York, 1972], at 4:3, 6; 8:29; 14:33; 16:16; 26:63, 64; 27:40, 43; 28:19), four times in the West-Saxon Gospel of Mark (Bright, *Mark*, at 1:1; 3:17; 5:7; 15:39), three times in the West-Saxon Gospel of Luke (James Wilson Bright, ed., *The Gospel of Saint Luke in West-Saxon: Edited from the*

*Manuscripts* [1906; repr. New York, 1972], at 1:35; 4:41; 22:70), and eleven times in the West-Saxon Gospel of John (Bright, *John*, at 1:34, 49; 3:18; 5:25; 6:69; 9:35; 10:36; 11:4, 27; 19:7; 20:31). *Godes agen bearn* does not occur in the West-Saxon Gospels, but it does occur once in *Christ and Satan* (Merrel Dare Clubb, ed., *Christ and Satan: An Old English Poem: Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary* [1925; repr. Hamden, Conn., 1972] p. 5, at line 10), a poem of uncertain authorship, which according to Clubb should be dated between 790-830 A. D., pp. lvi-lx.

Cf. Adso, "He will . . . call himself the almighty God," Wright, p. 102; for Latin text see Verhelst, p. 22, lines 7-9.

105. "And God will permit . . . into eternal death," cf. Ælfric, "Almighty God permits the impious Antichrist to work signs, and miracles, and persecution, for three years and a half; for in that time there will be so much wickedness and perversity among mankind, that they will be well worthy of devilish persecution," Thorpe, 1:4, lines 29-34, and 1:5.

106. H omits "immediately keep the law of God very zealously."

107. "are destined to suffer the greatest persecution," or "destined to endure the greatest persecution."

108. "And God will permit him . . . or will ever occur again," cf. homily IV 17-24 (Bethurum, p. 129): "and God will permit it to him for a certain space of time for two reasons: The first is that men will be so far

condemned for their sins that afterwards they will be rightly deserving that devil when he openly tests to see who will follow him. The other one is that God desires that those who will be so blessed that they will continue in orthodox faith and steadfastly withstand the devil, he desires that those will be quickly purified and cleansed of sins through the great persecution and through the martyrdom they will then suffer."

109. "But he will be blessed who will not fall away then," is almost certainly a reflection of Mark 13:13 (also Matthew 10:22, 24:13), "but he who stands firm to the end will be saved" (NIV). Also cf. Revelation 7:14. Cf. homily II 56-57 (Bethurum, p. 121), "But well to them ever after in the world who then will not in any manner fall away"; and homily IV 49-50 (Bethurum, p. 131), "Alas! He will be blessed, however, who will be steadfast against this so that he therefore will not fall away."

110. "will permit the devil to work," lit. "will permit that the devil be allowed to work."

111. "the devil . . . all the world," cf. homilies II 51-52, III 12-13, Bethurum, pp. 121, 123.

112. "Alas! Will there . . . martyred by the arch-fiend," cf. Adso: "But lest Antichrist come suddenly and without warning and deceive and destroy the whole human race at once by his error, before his arrival, two great prophets, Enoch and Elijah, will be sent into the world, to defend the faithful of God by divine weapons against the attack of Antichrist and to train and strengthen and prepare the elect for war, teaching and

preaching for three and a half years; moreover, whatever sons of Israel are found in that time, these two great prophets and teachers will convert to the grace of faith, and from the pressure of so great a storm they will render their faith unconquerable among the elect," Wright, pp. 107-08; for Latin text see Verhelst, pp. 27-28, lines 151-60. Revelation 11:3-12 describes two latter-day witnesses who will prophecy for 1260 days, and are given the power to destroy anyone who tries to harm them. At the end of the 1260 days they are martyred by Antichrist, who will let their bodies lie on a street in Jerusalem. But after three and a half days they are resurrected and raptured. Verse 4 connects these two witnesses with the "two olive trees and the two lampstands" of Zechariah 4:1-14. Exegesis in the Middle Ages commonly considered these two witnesses to be Enoch and Elijah, partly because neither suffered a physical death but were raptured alive into heaven (for Enoch see Genesis 5:24 and Hebrews 11:5, for Elijah see 2 Kings 2:11), and partly because of their interpretation of Malachi 4:5; Matthew 11:14; 17:10-13; Mark 9:11-13; and Luke 1:17. See Emerson, *Antichrist*, pp. 40ff. for the history of the interpretation of Enoch and Elijah as the two witnesses of Revelation 11:3-12 in the Middle Ages.

113. "The man does not . . . devilish time," cf. homily IV 66-67 (Bethurum, p. 132): "Neither I nor ever any man is able to describe to others beforehand all the terror which will be in the world on account of the devil."

114. Comits "nor a child his own father."

115. "Then brother . . . a stranger," paraphrase of Matthew 10:21; cf. Micah 7:6. In homily III 54-55 (Bethurum, p. 125), the earliest of Wulfstan's four homilies which contain a rendering of this verse (homilies III, Ia, V, and XX; see Bethurum, pp. 101-04 for the order of his homilies), the paraphrase is much shorter: "Then a kinsman will not defend a relative any more than a stranger." In his Latin homily Ia 37-39 (Bethurum, p. 114), Wulfstan's quote of this verse is much closer to the Vulgate: *tradet frater fratrem ad mortem et pater filium, et insurgent filii in parentes, et odio eos habebunt inuicem* "brother will deliver brother to death and a father his child, and children will rise up against their parents, and they will have hatred among one another." (See note 73 for translation of the rendering in homily XX[EI] 61-63.) Whitelock points out how the rendering of Matthew 10:21 in homily V "keeps the order of the original and is in a better context" than the rendering in homily XX, concluding that Wulfstan probably used homily V when composing homily XX, *Sermo Lupi* p. 40.

116. According to the *A-S Dictionary*, here "army" [here translated "a marauding army"] "is the word which in the Chronicle is always used of the Danish force in England, while the English troops are always the *fyrð* hence the word is used for *devastation* and *robbery*," p. 532.

117. "Moreover, there is destined . . . in numerous ways," Bethurum scans this passage into eight lines of poetry, p. 292. The following

illustrates her scan of this passage, though admittedly much is lost in the way of rhythm and alliterative pattern characteristic of eleventh century prose effect through translation:

Moreover, there is destined to arise      far and wide  
 Contention and harm      malice and hatred      and plundering  
    of robbers  
 A marauding army and famine      fire and bloodshed  
 And violent commotion      plague and pestilence      and many  
    misfortunes  
 And many signs      will be widely seen  
 In the sun and in the moon      and in many stars  
 And many kinds of horror      will occur on earth  
 To people by terror of the heart      and by terrible peril      in  
    numerous ways.

"And the nations . . . in numerous ways," is influenced by portions of the Olivet Discourse, especially Luke 21:9-11, 25-26 (also Matthew 24:6-7, 29; Mark 13:7-8, 24-25): "'When you here of wars and revolutions, do not be frightened. These things must happen first, but the end will not come right away.' Then he said to them: 'Nation will rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom. There will be great earthquakes, famines and pestilences in various places, and fearful events and great signs from

heaven. . . . There will be signs in the sun, moon and stars. . . . Men will faint from terror, apprehensive of what is coming on the world, for the heavenly bodies will be shaken" (NIV). (For Latin quote of Matthew 24:7 see homily II 14-16, and for paraphrase of Matthew 24:6-7 and Luke 21:26 see homily II 43-48, Bethurum, pp. 119, 120.) Cf. Joel 2:30-31: "I will show wonders in the heavens / and on earth, / blood and fire and billows of smoke. / The sun will be turned to darkness / and the moon to blood / before the coming of the great and dreadful day of [Yahweh]" (NIV).

118. "days," lit. "days of life."

119. "And everyone will die . . . his evil teachings," paraphrase of Matthew 24:22. Cf. homily IV 11-14 (Bethurum, p. 128): "And all mankind will die right away if God does not shorten his days. But God will shorten his days for the things which will be dear to him and which he will have preserved." Adso states, "But then the days will be cut short, for the sake of the elect. For unless the Lord cuts the days short, none of the flesh would be saved," Wright, p. 105; for Latin text see Verhelst, p. 25, lines 94-97.

120. C and E omit: "Then the Last Judgment of God will be justly dispersed."

121. For "and obey the laws of God, and eagerly listen to and rightly observe the counsel of God" H reads: "and often obey the laws of God, and continually and zealously desire to rightly observe the counsel of God."



122. For "in heavenly joy" H reads "of heavenly joy."

123. H omits "In that place there is everlasting joy, and there always will be in the world of worlds forever without end!"

124. "everlasting reward . . . forever without end," cf. the conclusion of homily Ib 38-40 (Bethurum, p. 118): "to the everlasting joy which is prepared for them who perform his will. In that place there is everlasting joy, and there always will be in all the world of worlds forever without end! AMEN."

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## APPENDIX

A/Wulfstan

Route 1, Box 143  
 Florence, TX 76527  
 January 25, 1989

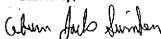
Ms. F. A. Millford  
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 Oxford, England OX2-6DP

Dear Ms. Millford:

I am finishing my M. A. thesis at Texas A&M University, "A Translation of Archbishop Wulfstan's *Secundum Marcum* with an Introduction and Commentary." The edition of the text I am using is that of Dorothy Bethurum, ed., *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 134-141. I would like to attain permission to place her text of homily V, *Secundum Marcum*--text only, not the textual apparatus--in a parallel column beside my translation. (See sample page attached.) The scope of my thesis (briefly stated) is to make available to theologians and historians a literary translation, with exegetical and expository commentary, of an important eschatological homily. Since few theologians or historians possess a working knowledge of Old English, and since the text of this homily is not always easily found in our libraries, I believe it would be a service to my readers to provide the same in the body of my thesis.


I sincerely apologize for such short notice, but I must submit my thesis in its final approved state in just a few short weeks. Therefore, your quick response will be greatly appreciated. Thank you very much for your consideration. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,



Ceburn Jack Swinden

OUR PERMISSION IS HEREBY GRANTED  
 WITHOUT FEE. PLEASE INCLUDE CREDIT  
 LINE CITING AUTHOR, TITLE, YEAR,  
 AND PUBLISHER.

 Miss Auriol Millford  
 Date..... 3. February, 1989.....  
 OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS,  
 WALTON STREET, OXFORD OX2 6DP

**VITA**

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Ceburn Jack Swinden, the youngest son of Ceburn Jay and Ina Wakeman Swinden, was born in Austin, Texas on 9 February 1958. He was educated in the public school system in Round Rock, Texas and graduated from Round Rock High School in 1976. He attended Texas A&M University and Austin Community College before taking employment in the manufacturing industry. During his employment at Plas Clad in Temple, Texas, where he served as Head of Drafting and Computer Detailing for four and a half years, he was able to attend the University of Mary Hardin-Baylor and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in May 1986. His double major was in English and Religion. In August 1986 he accepted a Graduate Assistantship from the Department of English at Texas A&M University. He currently resides at Rt. 1 Box 143, Florence, Texas, 76527.